

LABOR UNITY

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A SHOW DOWN IN THE I.L.G.W. HITS SIGMAN

Called For a Test And Got Licked

Workers Did It

BY JOSEPH ZACK

THE bureaucrats in the Needle Trades Unions tell us that amalgamation would be a good thing, but the workers are not yet ready for it. This amalgamation would strengthen the unions against the bosses. But when it comes to fighting the left wing, the bureaucrats are quite ready to amalgamate their forces. Thus, they have organized in New York, a conference to "preserve" the trade unions—for themselves.

Recently, this conference, being in the good graces of the powers that be, got two armories for a mass meeting against the "reds". Nothing was left undone to get the workers to attend these meetings. The A. C. W. members were told if they didn't come, their jobs would be lost. The Sigman-Becker machine worked overtime to put things over.

The Great Test

It was more than a mere meeting. It was intended to be a stoppage, the workers were asked to quit work one hour early to attend. The bosses co-operated in stopping work. The capitalist press, even two hours before the meeting, appeared with flaring headlines and even pictures, announcing that 100,000 workers were storming the armories to slay the "reds". It was a bold stroke for the right wing, which had never before dared to rely upon the mass of workers. Will it ever dare again?

Who had the active mass, the right wing of the left wing? That was the issue the meetings would tell. Because the left wing challenged the right with a counter demonstration, called by the Cloak and Dressmakers' and Furriers Joint Boards. Half a dozen halls to hold about 12,000 against the 18,000 of the right wing's two armories were hired. Madison Square Garden was unavailable, though one hall would have attracted more than many small ones.

The Show-Down

At 4:30 P. M., half an hour after stoppage, the first six left wing halls were already jammed. Then the left wing kept hiring more and more halls until every hall available on the East Side of New York was taken, seventeen halls in all being hired by six o'clock. Thousands wandered about in the miserable rain from hall to hall trying to get in, and many gave it up and went home.

The capitalist press admitted that 30,000 went to the left wing meetings. At least 25,000 got into the 47 halls. But the right wing had not more than 3,000 in their two big armories. It was a sad affair. Hugh Frayne of the A. F. of L. spoke. Unenthusiastic reaction. When Beckerman, the mimic Mussolini, began, a good part of the

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FIGHT THE WAGE CUT!



The coal operators of the central competitive field, comprising Illinois, Indiana, Ohio and Pennsylvania, met at Toledo, Ohio, January 19 and unanimously adopted the following resolution as policy for the operators in the negotiations with the United Mine Workers opened at Miami, Florida, February 14:

"Resolved, that it is the sense of the meeting that the scale between the operators of the central competitive field and the miners' organization or miners, must be continuously competitive with the wages paid in West Virginia and Kentucky."

This means a fight to cut wages of union miners to within a few cents of the non-union miners in West Virginia and Kentucky. And the words "or miners" mean a fight to destroy the union if it does not consent to the wage cut.

The Miners' convention instructed the Scale Committee against any wage reduction in the new contract. But John L. Lewis, who has deliberately kept West Virginia and Kentucky miners unorganized, has appointed Harry Fishwick, friend of the operators' friend, Frank Farrington, as head of the Scale Committee.

The Miners' Union is in danger. But can it trust Fishwick? Can it trust Lewis, who stole the miners' votes and bullied their delegates at their convention? No! But there is one way the miners can win against all enemies!

The existing Progressive Committees can be strengthened and their number multiplied. Such Committees, organized in every local in the United Mine Workers, can compel Lewis to lead a real fight against a wage cut, and can stand guard over the fight to prevent any betrayal.

Miners! The agreement expires March 31. There is no time to lose. Organize all progressive forces!

WHAT IS A STRIKE VOTE FOR?

The railroad companies are rolling in profits. But now, the latest group they have defeated on wage demands are the Engineers and Firemen on the 59 Eastern lines, given a paltry 7½ per cent raise instead of their demand for 20 per cent. This is arbitration! This is the Watson-Parker Law!

So it goes for the strongest railway unions. The Shopmen are too weak even to take their demands to the peril of arbitration. They have no stomach for even an arbitration struggle. So they are put off with one, two and three cent raises—and even no raise at all!

Refused even this ridiculous 7½ per cent by the South-eastern lines, the Grand Lodge officials of the Conductors and Trainmen have ordered a strike vote. But who are the officials fooling by this gesture? Not the railroad companies. The companies know that the union officials have been sewed up against strikes by the Watson-Parker Law.

If the union officials even faintly believed in strikes, why did they hog-tie the union with the Watson-Parker Law? They do not believe in strikes, and the only reason they order a strike vote is to fool the members of their union, to make them think their officials have guts enough to fight.

Railwaymen! A ninety per cent strike vote was taken by the Canadian Conductors and Trainmen, but their demands were compromised for an amount the officials have not even dared to make public.

If the railwaymen want what they demand, then a strike vote must be followed by strike if they don't get it.

On every system militant railwaymen should hammer this lesson home and organize groups to compel the union officials to act.

PROGRESSIVES BATTLE LEWIS IN CONVENTION

Machine Rules By Fake Majority

Members Protest

THE convention of the United Mine Workers of America which opened at Indianapolis on January 25 and lasted for ten days will have a profound effect on the entire labor movement. The triumph of John L. Lewis in getting official endorsement for his workers and management "co-operative" plan, his expulsion policy, etc., solidifies the whole labor-bureaucracy against all progressive opposition.

Lewis is the most ruthless autocrat in the labor movement and he will go to any extreme to retain his strangle hold on the union. The most menacing aspect of this is that the strength of Lewis reflects the weakness of the union. He grows strong as the union weakens. The progressive group understood exactly the crisis of the union when they raised the slogan "Save the Union".

Great Loss of Members

The operators have prepared for struggle since 1924, and, following Lewis' statement that there were 200,000 less many miners, they shut down the union mines and starved the union miners out. Secretary Kennedy's report shows a loss of 129,000 miners since 1924; 19,000 in the last six months.

While the Lewis machine controls every district except No. 24, and has fortified itself mechanically, opposition to the administration embraces the majority of the members as proven by even a few facts.

False Election Returns

1. The last two international elections. The constitution says the votes must be tabulated by locals and sent to every local. Yet neither in the election two years ago, when Voyzey ran against Lewis, nor in the last one when Brophy opposed Lewis, has this been done. The inference is that Lewis is defeated when he refuses to tell the membership how the vote went.

In the last election the first official statement (not a fabrication) given out was that Brophy received 85,000 out of a total of 280,000. This was an estimate based on the old 500,000 membership and given before Kennedy prepared his report. So the latest official statement is that Brophy received 60,661 and Lewis 173,323. According to Kennedy's report there are 273,307 dues-paying members. The statement on votes would mean that 85 per cent of the members voted, which is preposterous. A tabulated vote would show up the crookedness. In West Virginia, where Kennedy's report shows dues paying membership of 377 and no one but Lewis claims any more than 2,000 members, Lewis cast some 15,000 votes for himself and allowed Brophy 600.

2. There is a storm of protest from the membership against

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Sigman Whipped In Call For Show Down

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audience started to walk out. The chairman ordered the doors shut, but this caused such a row he ordered them open again. We said it was a sad affair.

Waterloo for the Right Wing

The right wing cannot defeat the left wing without the aid of the bosses. To get that they must give the bosses privileges the workers will not bear. Now the workers are back in the shops and the season is beginning, they see conditions are not being lived up to by the bosses and union spirit revives.

The Joint Board and local offices (suspended) are leaping. Even some shops who registered under coercion are coming to the Joint Board for complaint adjustment. Sigman now announces that workers who have not registered will not be discriminated against. The slugger becomes almost a gentleman.

A Disgraceful Frame-Up

Recently, Sigman tried to frame up the strike leaders by trying to get some arrested strikers to give information against Joint Board leaders on alleged violence upon seals and scab nests in the strike. When these workers refused to turn stool-pigeon, Sigman con-



NO BUYERS!

trived to have them sentenced by Judge Rosalsky to savage terms in prison, from two to five years. Then he promises that if they turn informers he will have them pardoned by influencing Governor Smith.

In this case more than any, the bureaucracy is revealing its unity with the most outspoken enemies of labor for imprisonment of strike leaders, and in the measure that the right wing thus exposes itself, the most backward workers begin to understand that under no circumstances must they permit scab-trailers to pose as their leaders. A big movement is now rising for defense of these victimized workers.

Schachtman Uses Injunctions

Another glaring example is furnished by the injunction obtained by President Schachtman of the Fur Workers' International from a Newark, New Jersey, judge, known as the worst labor hater and anti-labor injunction judge in that district. This injunction restrains Local 26, in which the left wingers were elected to office, from functioning as a union and directs the officials to turn over all business to Schachtman.

The membership does not want Schachtman, but he uses the capitalist courts and police to out-elect officers and install himself. An injunction judge becomes the final arbiter as to who is to handle the business of the union.

We can say, in view of these developments, that time is working for the left wing, and that these are the very last gestures of a bureaucracy that is corrupt to the core and for which workers in the needle industry are certainly not going to stand.

Progressives Battle Lewis

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Lewis' policy. More than two-thirds of the resolutions submitted to the convention expressed opposition to Lewis administration and policy. There were 557 resolutions, 226 dealing specifically with the coming wage agreement and supported by 287 locals. The whole tone of these resolutions is one of violent protest, not a single one supported the administration.

These resolutions represent one of the greatest mass protests against employers and labor officials ever presented to a labor convention. Space forbids quoting from these deep cries of indignation and demands for struggle arising from the coal-pits of this country. Hammered out by those who live in the tragedy of the union's crisis, their frustration by the Lewis machine is a crime.

Demands From the Pits

Suffice it to say that they attack Lewis' policy on all sides, against violation of the agreement, for a militant fight to regain conditions lost since Lewis became president, demand for rank and file control, for organizing the unorganized, for the six-hour day and the five-day week, demanding a tabulated election vote, protests against the joint discrimination of union officials and employers against the membership, for short term contracts, and an expressed distrust shown by many resolutions demanding a financial accounting.

3. Without going into the "blue sky" locals in all districts, and taking up only the "blue sky" districts, a cursory glance at Secretary Kennedy's own report shows a packed convention. Per capita shown in the following was from June 1 to December 1, 1928:

District	Per Capita	Members	Gates
17. W. Va.	475.50	85	40
10. Tenn.	1,448.75	482	52
23. W. Ky.	17.50	0	36
30. Ky.	0	0	14
31. W. Va.	1,131.00	377	107
	82,772.75	950	309

The above means that from these districts alone, Kennedy's own report shows that there was one delegate at the convention for every three dues-paying members. Just

compare this with the figures from the Anthracite given below:

District	Per Capita	Members	Gates
1. Pa.	\$108,846.89	50,282	178
7. Pa.	57,705.24	10,268	152
9. Pa.	193,132.28	44,577	99
	\$359,685.01	110,027	329

The Anthracite got one delegate to every 363 dues paying members. The "blue sky" or paper districts were placed on nearly an equal basis with the entire Anthracite. They had six more delegates than the powerful Illinois district, 58 more than the entire bituminous fields of Pennsylvania, 14 more than Ohio and Indiana combined and 58 more than the combined delegations of Washington, Iowa, Kansas, Colorado, Arkansas, Wyoming, Michigan, Missouri, Montana and Nova Scotia. Besides these "blue sky" districts, there were innumerable paper locals represented by Lewis henchmen from almost all districts.

Under such conditions it was extremely difficult for the progressives to make headway. Following his general attack against the membership, Lewis transferred as much power as possible from the members to the International Board by constitutional changes, and removed in the same manner all semblance of pre-war socialist ideology from the constitution.

So crude was the administration tactics that even with its packed delegation, the convention twice defeated the machine.

Lewis Whipped Twice

The first was a constitutional amendment to give the Board full power to assess members any amount at any time. This was defeated, but it was declared carried, and a demand for roll call declared beaten by three votes. The second machine defeat was on a proposal to lengthen the term of local officials on the plea of stabilizing the union. The vote was so crushing the machine could not steal it.

However, by denying seats to some of the most capable progressive floor leaders, such as Alex Howat, Powers Haggood, Pat Toohy and Luke Coffey, strong-arm methods such as slugging of Haggood, and the packed convention, the Lewis machine was able to get

majorities on all other questions.

Progressives Fought Splendidly

The progressives, led by Brophy, Stevenson, Hindmarsh, Minerich, Demchak, and others, put up a splendid fight for all important progressive demands. Every argument made by the progressives was met with a bitter personal attack and the usual red-baiting and bull-dozing. Not one did machine supporters meet the issue squarely. They were not sure of holding their packed majority.

Although many resolutions were in demanding justice to Howat, support of August Dorchy, release of labor's prisoners and so on, the machine simply refused to print them or allow them to come before the convention because on such questions Lewis might lose his unstable majority.

Under Adverse Conditions

The progressives were militant and ideologically a unit, but were rather weakly organized. This lack of a definite organizational crystallization has long been a great obstacle to effectiveness of the progressive miners. The lack of literature, in the hands of all delegates at the opening of the convention, analyzing the industry, the union crisis and explaining the progressive program was also a handicap. But the progressives put up a good fight under very adverse conditions.

By the reactionary position of the administration and the progressive program of the opposition being revealed in the convention struggle, the lines are clearly drawn, and all who believe that the aims of the union can be won only by a struggle will find themselves in opposition to the Lewis administration.

The task that confronts this opposition is to organize for the coming struggle with the operators, and to compel the administration through rank and file pressure to wage a real battle against wage reductions, for better conditions, wage increases in the unorganized fields, the six-hour day and the five-day week, a real drive to unionize the non-union miners, a national agreement, submission of agreement to referendum before signing, to grant democracy within the union and to carry out the Save the Union program.

FLIMFLAMMING THE RAILWAYMEN

BY ARTHUR C. JOHNSON

WHEN the Watson-Parker Law was being drafted in the early part of last year by joint conferences between the railroad managers and the officials of the standard-railway organizations, the union officials advanced many extravagant claims as to what it would accomplish for the workers when it became effective, as these officials wished to forestall any possible opposition from the membership.

Among other things and there are many things about this law which we need to examine in detail—we were told that it would abolish company unions and compel the railroad managements to recognize the chosen representatives of the employees; that adjustment boards must be created; to handle the grievances arising between the companies and the men, and further, that the law would prevent the companies from using coercive measures against the efforts of the unions to organize the workers.

The Baited Trap

What is the purpose of these adjustment boards and how will they work? The boards make binding decisions when there is disagreement on grievances and disputes. The law provides that such boards "shall be created by agreement between any carrier or group of carriers or the carriers as a whole and

its, or their, employees."

The railway workers are now discovering that, in the interpretation and application of this clause, they have been caught in one of the several traps this law contains, and that the management is allowed to bring forward their company unions as representing the workers.

Lessons for Repentance

Immediately following the enactment of the law by Congress, several conferences were held by the union executives, which resulted in the formation of a joint committee representing all railroad unions to confer with the companies relative to the setting up of these boards of adjustment.

For many months this committee has been coaxing the railway managements to proceed with the creation of these boards and carry out other related provisions of the law. However, up to this time, all attempted negotiations with the companies have been futile. We were recently told by the union officials that it was not thought "advisable" to make any statement on the course of negotiations.

Regional Versus System Boards

When the unions proposed some time ago that regional boards be created representing all regular organizations, the management flatly refused to deal with the unions as a whole and, taking advantage of the

above-mentioned clause, insisted that system boards be set up.

The purpose of the management in demanding that these boards be constituted on a system basis, is perfectly clear. It will enable those systems that now have company unions, which comprise nearly half the railroads in the country, to deal as they see fit with their employees through the existing company unions.

That the railroad managements foresee this, and are taking full advantage of it, is indicated by the fact that as soon as the law was passed, they promptly began creating system boards through their company organizations.

Not So Nice, After All

Now when the regular unions file applications for regional boards to include all bona fide organizations, the companies reply that they have already agreed to deal with the "representatives" of their company unions.

Thus we see that this law, which had the enthusiastic support of the officials of the standard unions, is the means whereby the railway managements will try to continue and increase the company unions on the railroads. Instead of eliminating them, as was claimed, the companies use the law to give com-

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I. T. U. in the Hands of the Courts

BY WILLIAM CANTON

THE courts, the federal court at Indianapolis, and the state supreme court of New York, now direct the destinies of the International Typographical Union. The Indianapolis federal court acts at the behest of the old reactionary Wahneta machine. The New York state supreme court acts for the equally reactionary "Prog" machine.

The manner by which this situation arose is simple. Both machines, in an utterly unprincipled fight for the spoils of office, resorted to the weapon most despised by labor—the injunction.

The leaders of the mis-named "progressive party" started this game. After the death of President John MacParland in 1923, the "Prog" party fell under the domination of a group of politicians whose one motive was the spoils of office. Charles P. Howard, vice-president under MacParland, became selling president, and his short term was a history of trucking to publishers and bosses in the job printing end of the industry. He was defeated in 1924 by the ancient reactionary James M. Lynch, who held office until defeated by Howard last year.

The First Injunction

The campaign that defeated Lynch began with an injunction. This was hurled at the vitals of the I. T. U. by a notorious Tammanyite, Leon H. Rouse, who for 12 years has managed to hang on to the presidency of New York Typographical Union No. 6.

The excuse for the injunction was the arbitrary and illegal action of the Wahneta executive council, dominated by Lynch, in imposing a flat \$1.50 per month old age pension assessment on the membership. This autocratic action merited the sternest rebuke by the members and would unquestionably have swept every year had it not been for the injunction launched in the New York state supreme court by the "Big Six" executive. This gave the "Wahs" opportunity to gain support in an anti-injunction fight.

Instead of appealing to the membership through the proper channels provided for by the organization, the Rouse-Howard combination got an ex-judge of Tammany, named Talley, to ask an injunction. The result was a victory (?) for the "Progs". On December 8, 1926, Justice Isidor Wasservogel of the Supreme Court, New York County, granted the "Progs" an order restraining the International union from collecting the old age pension assessment.

The Second Injunction

In last year's election, Howard, alone among the "Progs", was victorious and took over the presidency November 1. All the other executive members are in the other camp. The "Progs" labor under the illusion that their victory would have been complete were it not for the mailers, who are in the I. T. U., so they have worked overtime devising schemes of eliminating the mailers.

Some favor throwing the mailers out of the union on the grounds that only compositors should hold I. T. U. membership. Since this procedure would be a bit too raw, considering the fact that the "Progs" have a long way yet to go before they control the union, they tried at the last convention to disfranchise the mailer members from voting for any member of the executive council except the mailer representative. The convention defeated this brilliant "Prog" measure. But the game was not finished.

The Detroit "Progs", guided by Frank X. Martel, a local labor politician, drew up and submitted to referendum a proposal to prohibit mailers from voting for

President, First and Second Vice-Presidents and Secretary-Treasurer, in vain the Amalgamationists, who were the administration's main support during the MacParland regime, protested that this step would weaken the I. T. U. and lead to one more union in the printing industry.

Instead of fighting on the merits of the case, exposing the "Prog" attempt to weaken the union as reactionary, the Wahneta themselves resorted to an injunction, in spite of their campaign against its use last year! Also opposed to amalgamation, the "Wahs" could not logically fight the "Progs" on the fundamental principles of unionism.

The Wahneta injunction is now also in effect under order of the Indianapolis federal court, prohibiting the Detroit proposition being taken to a referendum vote.

Thus, the courts decide what dues, if any, shall be paid, and whether union members shall have a right to vote in the union or not. The affairs of the union are turned

over to political agents of the employing class, the judges. The union is now controlled by two judges, neither of whom were chosen by the union membership. And responsibility for this frightful state of affairs rests equally on the "Progs" and "Wahs".

What's Left

Meanwhile, the executive council, fighting over the spoils of office—the only function thing left for them, have reached a deadlock and have mutually paralyzed each other. President Howard, in order to fulfill pledges to hungry "Prog" aids, tried to remove from the payroll a number of "services to and expenses in" patriots who carried on the "Wah" campaign at the expense of the organization.

This aroused the fury of Secretary-Treasurer John W. Hays, Vice-Presidents Seth R. Brown and Austin Hewson and the mailer representative Charles N. Smith, all faithful Wahneta of the Lynch machine. The present situation is

a deadlock, with the executive council refusing to transact what business the courts have left it, until Howard permits them to vote on the question of organizers.

Meanwhile the twelve organizers whom Howard threatened to remove are off the payroll and many sections of the jurisdiction are without any representative at all. Howard hypocritically pleads "economy" instead of admitting he wants his toes out and his friends in. Both sides are hypocritical on that score.

Utterly unscrupulous, divided only on the spoils but agreeing in principle that it is the duty of officials to serve the bosses and keep the membership in leash, the "Progs" and "Wahs" are driving the Typographical Union toward the rocks of disaster.

Its fate is sealed unless an opposition party, a party that responds to the elementary demands of the rank and file rises to challenge and defeat both the old machines. The danger to the union is so menacing that not a moment should be lost in organizing rank and file groups in every jurisdiction to fight relentlessly against these twin wrecking crews, both ready to destroy the union rather than lose control of it.

YOUNG WORKERS

BY W. J.

YOUNG workers annually entering industry has resulted in a condition where they form at least 20 per cent of the entire working class. Such a large group can be either a great help or a great detriment to the progress of the trade union movement.

These young workers labor in many basic industries, such as coal mining, metal, textile and automobile manufacturing. Of especial importance is the overwhelming percentage of young workers in such industries as electrical equipment, radio, confectionery, food stuffs, etc.

The great majority of these young workers are outside the trade unions and the employers take advantage of this fact, using them against the unions when possible and always discriminating against them.

In the Anthracite

For example, in the anthracite coal fields we find that a large percentage of workers are young boys from 14 to 20. It is not uncommon for a young fellow to be hired to drive a one-head team of mules, and then have the boss transfer him to drive a three-head team at the same wage. Or, a boy is hired as a trapper at \$2.77 to \$3.02 a day, and after working a while he is put on a man's job at the same wage he got before. In this region, where the union is still intact, the young miner up to 17 years of age, is permitted to enter the U. M. W. of A. at half initiation and half dues, but is restricted in his voting rights.

Young Glass Workers Strike

The increased consciousness of young workers has been shown by such events as the strike of young glass workers at Bellville, Ohio, where the boss effected a 10 per cent wage cut on jobs done by boys, such as carrying boys, snappers and vase swingmen. The carrying boys were cut from \$4.00 a day to \$3.50. The young workers struck against the wage cut, but the adult workers, who belong to the Glass Workers' union, stayed on the job. After several weeks of strike the young fellows were forced to go back, principally because the adult workers did not support them. Such incidents leave a bad impression on the average young worker.

Western Union

We often see a young boy hustling along the street, walking or riding a bicycle in all sorts of weather. This Western Union boy gets the magnificent wage of from \$6 to \$17 a week. On piece work they receive seven cents for each trip and two cents a wire. Hourly

pay is 28 cents for day work and 31½ cents for night work.

Passaic

Case after case could be cited, in the Passaic strike the most active of strikers were young American-born workers of foreign-born parents. About 40 per cent of the strikers were girls and boys. But on the strike committee, the youth composed 80 per cent of the committee. They were the most active on the picket line or wherever loyalty and action were needed.

What's to Be Done?

Such conditions present the trade unions with a serious problem. Can young workers in industry be considered on a par with the adult workers? If so, why are so few young workers organized in trade unions? If not, what is to be done about the matter?

The young worker cannot be approached on the same basis as the adult worker. It is a special problem and must be approached as such by the trade unions. If we desire to make the young workers boosters and soldiers of the trade union movement, we must come to them on the basis of their special youth problems, such as discrimination against them on wages and hours, lack of special educational facilities, dangerous and injurious work, not to speak of the social problem of mental and physical harm done immature youth while at work, and the combination of education and trade apprenticeship.

The successful unionizing of young workers will remove a force which is used against the organized, it will tend to democratize the trade unions, as most are unskilled, it will vitalize the unions and strengthen the left wing and will bridge the gap between the foreign-born workers and American-born workers, which is a great obstacle to unity of action during strikes.

What to Do Now

Experience will give the best method of approaching the problem. The trade unions should experiment with such methods as giving the young workers a special sub-committee on every important organization committee, the calling of union delegate conferences to consider the problem of the youth and how to unionize them, issuance of special literature, militant support of special demands of young workers, such as wages, hours, conditions, no night work, etc., representation of young workers on all union shop committees, and special arrangements regarding initiation fees and dues for low paid, unorganized workers.

TWO MORE "LABOR" BANKS

The Brotherhood National Bank of San Francisco opened December 15, with a capitalization of \$500,000 and \$150,000 surplus. At Buffalo, the United Labor Bank will soon open with a probable capital of \$100,000 and \$25,000 surplus.

The Princeton University has compiled figures showing that the existing labor banks had combined resources of \$122,000,000 at the close of the third quarter, total deposits of \$105,000,000 and undivided profits of \$12,000,000.

"Labor is entitled to the full value of its product" and a subscription costs only one dollar a year to show you how to get it.

Flimflaming the Railroad Unionists

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pany unions a legal standing in the industry.

Must Abolish the Law

It should be obvious, therefore, that the fight against the company unions, at the same time calls for a fight against the Watson-Parker Law which recognizes them and places them on a par with the standard organizations of the workers.

The establishment of company unions by the Watson-Parker Law is moreover, only one of many grave monstrosities contained in it. Among other threats to railroad labor are the law's establishment of the principles of the industrial court, compulsory arbitration and the enforcement of decisions by the federal courts.

The Pivotal Point

The campaign against company unionism and the other traps into which the railway unionists have been led, must inevitably be a fight to abolish the Watson-Parker Law. The fight for the restoration of the 1920 rule for organization of the unorganized and amalgamation of the separate crafts into an industrial organization, must go hand in hand with the fight against the Watson-Parker Law.

The unorganized cannot be reached by the regular unions, for example, when this infamous law corrals them into company unions, the organized trades must take up the fight and persistently continue it.

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Editorials

LABOR UNITY advocates the formation of a Labor Party based upon the trade unions.

SAVE SACCO AND VANZETTI!

THE counsel for Sacco and Vanzetti are wargling for a new trial and producing new evidence to show these workers were framed up by the Massachusetts courts. But the argument is made to a court which already passed a decision against a fair trial. More than ever, the lives of these victims of class justice depend upon mass support outside the courtrooms, which are only ante-chambers to the death cell.

FOR MORE RESISTANCE

THE textile industry, like coal mining, suffers from depression. But that is no reason for the workers to surrender their wage or hour conditions, which are bad enough now. Coal companies are cutting wages since the defeat of the British strike ended the extra demand. Full-time capacity produces 970,000,000 tons annually and the U. S. needs only 500,000,000 tons. But a real fight can stop wage cuts.

In textiles it is reported that the Pequot company at Salem, Massachusetts, employing 3,000 workers, increased the work-week to 54-hours in defiance of the 43-hour state law. The United Textile Workers' union officials, in which union the workers are solidly organized agreed to the 54-hour week at straight time. Yet more than in good times do the workers need a fighting policy to protect them in periods of depression. The progressives in textiles have a job ahead to see that this is the policy of the union.

"SLEEP, BLESSED SLEEP"

IN October the A. F. of L. solemnly resolved to organize the automobile workers. Then Green and Woll became so busy fighting the left wing that nothing was done about it. We have a suspicion founded upon experience that they don't really care to do anything about it.

Then came January four months after the Detroit convention. The executive council met in a nice Florida winter resort and "ordered a conference to discuss plans" for the job. But the Machinists' headquarters say that this conference will "only formulate a request" to the executive boards of all the various crafts, that they surrender jurisdiction temporarily. This will take a few months more and some craft may block the whole thing. And this is an organizing campaign!

The next convention of the A. F. of L. will doubtless "report progress" and allow the bureaucrats to continue their slumbers while a million auto workers go unorganized.

Incidentally, one of the chief accusations against industrial unionism made by the bureaucrats of the antiquated craft unions, is that it is a "radical" proposal. However, the only "officially anarchist" publication

in the country, The Road to Freedom, is now running a series of articles showing that anarchism is quite in agreement with the A. F. of L.'s federalistic form, which is a natural corollary of craft unionism, and is opposed to the centralism of industrial unionism.

LABOR UNITY opposes dual unionism and secession movements.

THE FIVE-DAY WEEK

IT was the left wing progressives who raised the issue of the five-day week in American industry. They will keep on doing it until it is won! But what is more important to note, is that the left wing stands for a five-day week without any more speeding up and without a reduction of wages.

The right wing's position as reflected by the conservatives who issue the A. F. of L. Weekly News Letter, is not essentially different than the employers' position. In that publication of January 22 the president of the Builders' Association of Chicago is quoted as saying that "Labor must find a way in which production will be so increased that work now performed in 44 hours will be easily accomplished in 40".

The A. F. of L. in reply states that "Labor will gladly find the way, but this is impossible when workers are denied joint action". Then, in spite of the fact that productivity of labor is shown to have increased 59 per cent since 1914 in 11 major industries, the A. F. of L. essentially agrees with the employers that wages cannot be raised without still more speeding up. And then Ford explodes the idea that "joint action" is needed to obtain such speeding. The official trade union position is more than absurd, it is dangerous.

AIDING IMPERIALISM

"CHINKS Are Employed in Merchant Marine"—says an insulting headline in the A. F. of L. News Service of January 22, by way of argument against Chinese workers having any right to work on the ocean, let alone ashore in America. And not a word of protest is raised at the American and British imperialists-exploiting-Chinese in China. No support is given as should be given, to the Chinese labor unions leading the struggle for national freedom.

Neither is there a yelp of official protest at the massacre of Moro women by U. S. constabulary. And the best effort of Wm. Green to speak for Latin-American right of independence from U. S. bullying was an obscure speech at Tampa full of platitudes and advocacy for the arbitration of that right.

In all quarters and ways, the official policy of the A. F. of L. is essentially the same as that of Wall Street. Opposition to such policy does not consist of a few words of mild protest spoken for the record in a corner and concealed from the rank and file who should be fully informed and aroused to action. And such a rank and file could make an effective protest against Wall Street imperialism. As usual, it is up to the left wing to do what is done.

LABOR UNITY advocates the admission of all workers to trade unions, regardless of age, sex or race.

FISHY ALIBIS

JOHN L. LEWIS seeking alibis for not organizing non-union fields, told the convention of the U. M. W. of A. that in those fields the union was "bound hand and foot by injunctions" and the non-union operators dominate the local government, the meeting halls, roads and dwelling houses. Then he jams a resolution through against a Labor Party!

Continuing, Lewis forces out of the Miners' constitution the clause stating that the workers are entitled to "the full social value of their product" and put in its place "an equitable share of the fruits of their labor".

Two weeks before, the operators had met at Toledo, Ohio, and decided that the present wage scale is not equitable in their view. The Miners' convention decided that it is equitable. Barring a possible surrender to arbitration, what is "equitable" will be decided by the strongest side. When the workers are finally strong enough, they will decide that what is equitable theirs is the whole works.

BUREAUCRATS

TWO progressive unionists, duly elected from the Painters' Local in Seattle, are denied seats in the Central Labor Council on a ruling of the council president, who is a vice-president of the International Jewelry Workers' union—and, on the side, owner of a pawnshop. The time when such bosses can rule a trade union movement should end.

In Chicago, an ex-bureaucrat has died. Simon O'Donnell headed the Chicago Building-Trades Council for many years. He was a plunger for Liberty Bonds and an enemy of strikes during the war. He was Gompers' bosom friend. Then in 1920 he "retired". He had made his pile, as is clear from the fact that he picked out the millionaire suburb of Evanston as a place to live, and lived thereafter in a mansion which cost him a cool \$100,000. When he died he was president of the American Sewer and Drain Construction company. *Hic jacet in pace.*

The trade union membership have not one thing in common with such leaders, who have not the faintest working class loyalty to the union, but seek only personal gain, bludgeon their way to power and fight the progressives in the unions—as "reds". Unionism cannot succeed to protect the workers until such bureaucrats are shown the door—or the window.

THE INJUNCTION EPIDEMIC

A VERITABLE shower of injunctions is being rained by the capitalist courts upon trade unions at the behest, strange as it may seem, of trade unionists. The conservative bureaucrats who have no working class loyalty and no faith in membership support naturally are ready to use this despicable weapon.

But we cannot be other than alarmed when honest opposition elements, provoked to desperation by the autocratic conduct of the unions' affairs by the bureaucracy, can see no other way out but to go to the employers' courts for support.

In the case of Local 3 of the Electrical Workers' union, the judge promptly decided that it was more than a union affair. He said: "This matter is not only of serious importance to the parties involved, but is of considerable public interest". By this wedge, the capitalist courts will open the way to a claim of privilege for the courts to intervene any time they wish, without any petition.

Going to the courts is certainly a mistake. The effective alternative is for honest opposition elements to organize definitely and win the membership support for their side of the conflict.

LABOR UNITY advocates a program of aggressive trade unionism. It opposes class collaboration, whether openly initiated by the employers through company unions, or put into practice by agreement of employers and trade union officials through "co-operation".

The Frey---Lovett Debate

BY WILLIAM CLARK

AT the Erlanger Theatre, Chicago, January 30, there was held an interesting debate on the merits of the Open and Closed shops, between J. L. Lovett of Detroit, General Manager of the Michigan Manufacturers' Association, and J. P. Frey, Editor of "The Molders Journal".

Lovett was a hard-bolled open-shopper, bristling with statistics. He defended the right of the employers to run their own plants as they see fit. They built them and take all the risks. So no union had the right to interfere. Union men can work in their plants, but if they agitate they should be discharged.

He declared that trade unionism has nothing to offer either to employers or to workers. Trade unions, he said, mean antiquated industrial methods, higher production costs, higher prices to the public. All the great industries of America were built on the open shop plan. "But," he said significantly, "when the unions agree to furnish us better and more efficient workers than we can get elsewhere then the employers will become the organizers of the labor organizations."

The Main Challenge

Lovett scoffed at the idea that the unions had anything to offer the workers. His position was that the employers, if left a free hand to speed up production, will and do pay their workers higher wages than they could possibly receive in union industries. He produced many doubtful statistics to support this. He said that Detroit, the "open shop" paradise, has the highest wage rate of any city in the world.

He asserted that the working masses share his opposition to trade unionism, only 17% of the total workers in the country being in the unions. He sneered at the Michigan Federation of Labor, which was, he said, only 21,000 members out of 600,000 wage earners in Michigan. The Machinists' Union in Detroit, he averred, has only 50 members, and the total of the whole A. F. of L. declines steadily.

Lovett challenged Frey to tell him what the A. F. of L. has to offer to the workers of Detroit that they haven't already got. He says that this challenge has been hurled at the A. F. of L. leaders, but so far they have made no answer.

Frey's Reply Weak

Frey made a weak reply to all this. Most of his "argument" hardly ranked above demagoguery. One of his big points was to show that labor was more patriotic in the war than the "open-shoppers". This pleased him greatly.

Frey talked much also on the "right" of the workers to organize. He based his arguments on the petty bourgeois platitudes of the Declaration of Independence. But how the workers are to enforce this right in view of the employers' militant opposition Frey did not deign to state. It sufficed for him to establish the "principle" that the workers have the right to organize and then to condemn the open-shoppers as un-American for denying them this right. Lovett was not visibly worried over this condemnation.

Wonderful!

Frey, in his first speech, refused to answer Lovett's query as to what the A. F. of L. has to offer the workers of Detroit. Lovett insisted upon it again. Then Frey came forth with two things that the unions will bring to Detroit workers, one of which, the freedom of the church pulpits, was accomplished during the convention (ap-pu-tee). The other thing was that the employers with unions in their plants, would be able to learn what

is on the workers' minds without depending on detectives, as now. That's all he could think of. Wonderful program.

One may rise to inquire, why if this is all the unions have for Detroit workers, is then all this talk about organizing the automobile industry?

Agreed on One Vital Point?

Frey made no attack on capitalism. Both he and the open-shopper agreed that capitalism should stand. The "right" of the employers to exploit the workers did not

even remotely come into question. Lovett never even accused the trade unions of being "red". He also left their patriotism quite unquestioned. He talked economics, such as it was. Lovett, in his defiant argument, practically placed before Frey three propositions:

1. The employers will control their own plants, giving the workers what they think is due them and not permitting union interference.

2. It is cheaper to operate the industries without unions than with them.

3. The workers fare better in "open shops" than in closed industries.

Frey was too much lost in his own oratory and hopeless conservatism to even understand that these propositions were posed, much less to answer them.

The Answer Frey Could Not Give.

The time was, however, when organized labor had some degree of spirit and dared to answer them boldly, thus:

1. We will demand the right of organization and fight bravely till we win it.

2. We will make it impossible for the employers to operate their plants at all (not to mention cheaper) on an open-shop basis.

3. We will make such a defense of the workers' interests that their better conditions, as compared with unorganized workers, will stand out so prominently that not even the most blatant open shopper can ignore them.

The Officials' Sole Program.

But that time is past, at least for the moment. Today the trade union leadership slavishly answers Lovett's propositions as follows, and these answers, even though not clearly expressed by Frey, ran all through his talk.

1. To get organization in the industries by reducing the trade unions practically to company unions.

2. To turn the unions into auxiliaries for speeding up production, and thus make it cheaper for the employers to operate with union than with non-union labor.

3. To make no great quarrel about wages, but to accept such crumbs as may fall from the table, freshly over-loaded by the new worker-management co-operative speed-up systems.

Frey made a pitiful defense of the workers' cause. But it was no worse than the policy of the bureaucracy which he represents. His argument was a plea of bankruptcy. He had nothing to offer that can help the working class.

---FEATHERS---

BY C. A. MOSELEY

Coillage and Kellogg think that oil is not well in Mexico unless the well is tapped and owned by American investors.

A COLLEGE dean complains that professors are paid less than chauffeurs. Well, why shouldn't they be? Chauffeurs are at least partly unionized and college professors have to sit up and bark for subsidies from Rockefeller, Gary or other open-shoppers.

If you want to do something naughty and get by with it, just say you are protecting American lives and property. If it's murder you want to get away with, say that you are fighting propaganda from Moscow.

Well, there may be such a thing as a cloak of charity, but we doubt if the one worn by the right wing of the Glackmakers' officialdom has a union label.

CAPITALISM ruins art. Its increase in Turkey has caused the government to order merchants to simplify their shop signs, so now, the engaging notice "Hadi, Hussein, The Bearded One, Native of Denizli, Seller of Sweetly Sweetened Fruit of Paradise, Sweetener of the Lips of Christian Slaves" has been changed to the prosaic sign "Hadi Hussein's Candy Shop."

WATCHING THE BOSS

BY ECONOMIST

STEEL production for January, says Bethlehem's report, was about 75 per cent capacity, below the 81.4 average for the year 1923, but above the 70.3 average for the year 1925. December's rate was 74.5 per cent. January's increase is slight. January, 1926, had a rate of 88 to 89 per cent. The first ten months of 1925 saw increases over the same month of 1925, but since November, 1925, the rate has been falling below that of corresponding months in 1925.

October operations were 80 per cent capacity, November 74 per cent, while in January it climbed back to about 75. Bethlehem bookings on December 31, were \$49,912,796, compared with \$44,553,571 on September 30, 1925, and with \$70,586,923 on December 31, 1925. The Cleveland Federal Review says the slump was due to the fall off in automobiles in the last quarter of 1925. It is somewhat cheered by the heavy freight car railway orders, orders for the second week in January exceeding those of the whole month in 1925.

Shipments of steel in January averaged 15 per cent more than in December, says Iron Age. Specifications for February orderings were in still greater volume. Operations have slightly increased in Pittsburgh and Youngstown. Prices are down on both pig iron and steel.

PRESIDENT Grace of Bethlehem, informally discussing the European steel cartel, opined that it was proving helpful "not only to European producers but to the American industry". He says he expects no menacing competition.

Secretary Mollen, however, after investigation by a commission, says: "I find that pig iron from Germany is being sold and is likely to be sold at less than its fair value and that the industry of making pig iron in the United States has been and is likely to be injured by reason of pig iron importation from Germany." Last year similar complaint was made of French structural iron freezing out American producers. The Dawes Plan is a beautiful thing until it hits a snag.

EARLY February reports show an increase in Detroit automobile production from 12 to 50 per cent over January, about 1,400 to 1,600 more cars being turned out daily. Total increase in employment on February 1, over January was 15,000 men. The greatest increase comes on working hours. In January all larger plants were on short time. Many have increased so that overtime is in prospect every day of February. Ford production is steady. Packard back to normal. Chrysler increased 50 per cent over January, and is 75 per cent over 1925. Chevrolet reached its peak employment on February 1. Fisher Body schedules were raised at every unit.

CAR loadings for the week ending January 22, totaled 224,715, an increase of 48,878 cars above the same week last year, and 22,331 over the week in 1925. Cars loaded (in January) were 945,587, or 30,044 over the same week of 1925, and 18,290 over the same week in 1925.

January bank clearings were 5.2 per cent below January, 1925; also they were below that of January, 1925. The South dropped 14.6 per cent, the Northwest 7.4 per cent, New York 5.7 per cent. Canada gained 11.8. January insolvencies were 2,465, says R. G. Dun, the highest total since January, 1922, when there were 2,723. January is about 7.5 per cent above January, 1926, when there were 2,296 defaults.

THE National City Bank and the Guaranty Trust both agree that it is too early to gauge the tendencies of the year, noting that there was a sharp decline at the close of 1925, but a later recovery. The N. C. observes that building operations have necessarily got to slow up some time and autos cannot forever keep increasing. Agriculture, and especially cotton is ailing but not expired, as indicated by the lively agricultural implement orders. Both banks emphatically agree that the conspicuous feature of trade is the absence of any credit strain. There is easy money. The net addition of \$90,000,000 to the country's gold supply may have something to do with it.

"Low money rates," says the N. C., "and rising bond prices such as we are now witnessing . . . are not among the usual harbingers of depression." Guaranty notes that car loadings of 1,890,845 cars the first two weeks of 1927 compares well with 1,836,367 cars in the first fortnight of 1925.

Dun's monthly commodity index shows a decrease of 1 1/2 per cent during January, and a decrease of 4 1/2 per cent compared with 1925 in commodity prices. Breadstuffs and meat advanced during the month. Five food groups declined, chiefly dairy, garden products and miscellaneous foods. There was an increase of 1 per cent from July to December, 1925.

MASSACHUSETTS textiles are in a bad way. The Pocasset company of Fall River, equipped with 120,000 spindles, is authorized to sell out and quit trying. It has not been operated since late last Summer. The Fairhaven Mills of New Bedford are junking 30,000 spindles to avoid paying the \$12 spindle tax by April 1. The directors have been trying to sell the whole works, but there are no buyers, so they are cutting down the plant. Its debt has been cut from \$10,350,000 to \$761,000 at the expense of the workers doubtlessly.

Leading silk manufacturers are working on a \$100,000,000 merger. Forty-one lumber companies representing Douglas fir industry in Oregon, Washington and British Columbia have merged into one under the control of our old friend the National City Bank. Thirty ice companies of New England merged into one Feb. 1 and are pulling out a lot of nice bonds. In December there were 31 new oil companies formed with \$38,405,000 capitalization. They also have some pretty looking stock to sell.

Chinese Labor Awakened

By
Henry Gregory

MANY casual historians who suffer from a college education unconnected with any analysis of the economic forces of social movements, have bewailed: "If the British police at Shanghai had only not shot down the Chinese students before the Louza Barracks on May 30, 1925, the Chinese people would not now be in revolution."

Others, like open shoppers who blame everything to "agitators" when their workers finally revolt against long hours, low wages and company unions, lay the whole burden of the Chinese national revolution on "them blamed Bolsheviks."

A Sounder Reason

Both such ideas are foolish. A nation of 400,000,000 people does not rise to such magnificent action as the Chinese national revolution without there are more serious causes than a handful of "agitators" or even an occasional massacre. There are frequent massacres of workmen in America without any revolution—yet.

The causes, briefly stated, are to be found in imperialist penetration and rule of China, the import of capital by various powers with accompanying political subjection, and the creation by industrialization of a Chinese wage working class of some 6,000,000 workers.

The "Backward" Chinese

This Chinese working class and its trade union organization plays not only a leading but a dominating role in the national liberation revolution. This is worth noting, because the conservative trade union leaders of the West, even leading Socialists, take the view that this is a mistake if not a crime.

Since the Louza Barracks massacre, there has been an unbroken strike movement and a tremendous growth of the Chinese unions, organized in the All-China Federation of Labor affiliated now to the Red International of Labor Unions. The trade unions of China are the dominating force in the nationalist revolution, carrying out a difficult program of uniting the numerically powerful small capitalist and peasant with them in the political struggle against imperialism, while

waging innumerable strikes against employers for their own economic interests.

The Chinese Trade Unions

At the Third Congress of the Federation held last year in Kwangtung, 502 delegates from all over China represented 1,241,246 organized workers. The main resolutions dealt with: (1) Tactics; (2) organization work; (3) educational work; (4) strike tactics; (5) economic struggles; (6) women and young workers; (7) co-operatives; (8) a code of labor laws. There were 17 trade union papers, six having been suppressed by reactionary generals in league with imperialists.

who have magnanimously offered to "develop" China.

To the Government, the Union, Etc.

How close is the Canton government to the workers may be seen by a little item in the *Canton Gazette*, which prints an appeal of the Shanghai Chamber of Commerce to get the C. S. M. N. company's ships unloaded at Canton, where they were tied up by a seaman's strike. The appeal is addressed: "To the Provincial Government, Department of Industry, the Seamen's General Union, etc., Canton."

But more conclusive yet are the "Tentative Regulations Governing Problems of Employers and Labor."

purpose of the labor unions is to protect the interests of the workers, and the members of it therefore should be limited to workers only. Unions formed by the employers often affect the unity of the labor movement; company unions therefore should be forbidden.

Elsewhere the regulations say: "In factories and shops during a strike of the workers, only the owners are allowed to work, but they may not employ new workers." The simple reason given is that—"If the owners get new employees, the strike would have serious complications."

Government Protects Workers

"If shops and factories want to stop business," say the rules, "notice to this effect should be given the workers one month before, and a half-month's wages more should be paid to the workers. If they close without good cause, two months' wages should be paid to the workers. Reason—The workers usually live from hand to mouth and mostly have no savings." "When a strike to demand better pay is settled, wages during the strike must be paid."

"At the outbreak of a strike, the employers in question must not bribe outside workers to disturb the movement."

Labor's Political Power

"The employers cannot prohibit the workers taking part in meetings, demonstrations, or to strike, and if they are accused of interfering in this way, they shall be judged by the Bureau of Agriculture and Labor. Reason—All the workers under the regime of the Nationalist Government are entitled to all the national rights. If their rights are refused by the employers, they may as well be prohibited from taking part in revolutionary work. Therefore such should be forbidden."

The symbol for centuries of humble servility, is rising to his historic mission—and rising much better, be it noted, than are the scheming ignoramuses and compromisers of the "advanced" labor movement of Europe and America, with all their buzzing about advocating "peace between labor and capital."



HOW EUROPE'S WORKERS LOOK AT IT

Nicaraguan Intervention and The U. S. Attack on Mexico as Seen by The Berlin Rote Fahne

In many cities, like Shanghai, Tientsin and Peking, bloody suppression by these reactionaries has driven the trade unions underground, yet they still function. But in the South, and as far as the Cantonese armies advance, trade unions flourish. A wave of organization and strikes by the atrociously paid workers follows the northward drive of the Cantonese troops, sending shivers of horror up the spines of "legitimate investors"

issued by the Commissioner of Labor in Canton. Among these, American workers, who are much de-vilized by both company unions and reactionary trade union leaders who preach the "identity of interests" between workers and employers, will find the following of great interest:

Company Unions Forbidden by Law

"The merchants are not allowed to organize labor unions to mix with the laborers.—Reason: The

TOWARD WORLD TRADE UNION UNITY

A MOST important step toward world trade union unity is seen in the following two letters, the first sent from the I. W. C. F. T. (International of Working Class Free Thinkers)—which unites about 1,000,000 workers, mostly members of European Socialist parties, to both the Amsterdam International and the Red International, on December 17, 1925. Amsterdam rejects unity by its failure even to reply, but the I. W. C. F. T. shows its sincere desire for unity by its answer printed herewith. The I. W. C. F. T. has its headquarters at Vienna. It wrote both Amsterdam and Moscow as follows:

The I. W. C. F. T. Letter
"Dear Comrades: The International of Working-Class Free Thinkers, whose principles and statutes have already been brought to your notice on its formation, decided at its Prague Executive meeting of December 4, 1925, to approach both Trade Union international and submit the following statement:

"The position of the class struggle of the workers has become markedly worse. By concentrating the means at its disposal, capitalism has succeeded in sharpening the class struggle while it is at the same time endeavoring to cripple the fighting will of the working class by applying new methods for its moral enervation."

"Unfortunately, the workers of all countries organized in the trade unions do not stand united against this strengthened position capitalism enjoys. No one can doubt that the most urgent task of the moment is to rally together all the workers in the trade union international."

"From the masses of the working class itself in both camps the demand for unity is becoming louder and more insistent. We, proletarian free-thinkers, have opportunities in our big organization, to witness the most ardent desire of the workers to see this regrettable split surmounted in some way or other."

An Unprejudiced Mediator

"But it seems there is no honest mediator at hand. The I. W. C. F. T. is prepared to undertake this role. Ours is the only international which includes all socialist elements—irrespective of party and political differences in a common front for common activity. We consider that the stand we take above all parties, coupled with our honest working class will, renders us suited to be the first to try the step indicated with a view to overcoming or lessening the antagonisms of both sides."

"We intend shortly to publish an official memorandum addressed to both trade union internationalists, we wish to issue a manifesto to the working class of all countries, calling on it to give up the fratricidal

struggle in the trade union field at least. Before doing so, however, we are anxious to have the views of you and all organizations in the various countries to which we are sending this preliminary letter. We therefore request you to let us know whether we may count on your support.—(Signed) General Secretary, I. W. C. F. T. and President Hartway, I. W. C. F. T."

R. I. L. U. Replies

Moscow, Jan. 13, 1927. To the International of Working Class Free Thinkers, Vienna.

"Dear Comrades: Your letter of December 17, 1925, has been considered by the Executive Bureau of the Red International of Labor Unions at its meeting of January 11, 1927. The Executive Bureau of the R. I. L. U. welcomes the initiative shown by your international, and is ready to come to your assistance in this matter in every possible way."

"We stand for the point of view that the unity of the trade union movement is not only necessary, but possible of achievement, the trade union, by its very nature, being an organization embracing workers of various political tendencies."

Unity Essential

"The unity of the trade union movement on a national and international scale is more than ever essential now, when the direct and

indirect attack of capital is increasing, when unemployment is growing."

"We do not conceal the difficulties confronting the supporters of unity, but we maintain that these difficulties can and should be overcome, if we grant the sincere desire to create a united trade union movement in every country and a single trade union international."

"It may be taken as proved, that the success of the onslaughts of capital against the working class is explainable mainly by the disruption and isolation existing in the trade movement. This is precisely why your initiative should meet with every support. If your international is able to assist the progress of the business of unity, you will have performed an enormous service to the world labor movement."

Accepts Offer to Mediate

"We accept your mediation and are ready on your invitation to participate in any sort of meeting of an official or unofficial nature, with the representatives of the International Federation of Trade Unions (Amsterdam). In order, jointly with them and with your assistance, to consider practical ways and means for the organized unification of the world trade union movement. In One: An embracing International.—(Signed) A. Losovsky, General Secretary, R. I. L. U."

International Notes

ENGLAND THE belated conference of Trade Union Executives turned out to be a whitewashing affair as was expected. The General Council did not allow the trade union membership to discuss its report and the opposing report of the (Miners' Federation on the betrayal of the general strike by the C. G. T. The conference took place Jan. 20. Smith and Cook spoke for the miners. The capitalist press called Smith's speech "reasonable." Cook was more militant. J. H. Thomas replied to Smith, being greeted with as many "boos" as cheers. Ernest Bevin of the General Council attacked Cook viciously. The G. U. held the control and carried out the whitewash of the betrayal in approved U. S. style.

What sort of a trade unionist Ernest Bevin is may be judged by the fact that he is submitting a minority report as one of the government appointed commission sent to investigate American conditions last fall. The others of the commission reported that America can teach Britain little, that American prosperity is due to a temporary boom, that wages are high but so is living, and that class collaboration is not so far ahead of what they have in England. Bevin disagrees; he wants more and better class collaboration, labor banks and all.

Bevin's ideas coincide with those of P. A. Molteno, lawyer, shipowner and former mounted police officer, who says he particularly approved of American labor for its "keeping out of politics." Molteno was not in the commission, but recently visited America to investigate.

There were 5,244,700 tons of coal mined for the week ending Jan. 15, exceeding the week before the lockout by 147,700 tons. This was done with 122,400 miners less than before the lockout, due to the longer hours and the speed up. By their defeat, the British miners will be weakened in resistance against their bosses shipping coal to America should the American miners strike, to repay the Americans for breaking the British strike.

Militant workers have called for committees and conferences to demand "Hands Off China" and have distributed leaflets to troops. A. J. Cook appeals to trade unionists to drop differences and unite on the defense of Chinese workers. J. H. Thomas of course is for more troops. Philip Snowden lays all Chinese upheavals to "Bolshevism" and cannot be distinguished from Sir Austen Chamberlain and the Tory government.

SOVIET THE Seventh Congress Union of the trade unions of the Soviet Union, which met in December, besides reporting 3,278,000 members and taking important actions as told in the last issue of Labor Unity, also adopted a significant resolution on the Anglo-Russian Committee for unity. In part it says:

"The Congress approves of the creation of the Anglo-Russian Committee and of the activities of the representatives of the Soviet C. G. T. U. (Central Council of Trade Unions) in it, especially of the exact and honest working class criticism of the behaviour of the General Council (of the British Trade Union Congress) during the general strike and the miners' lockout, made by the Soviet C. G. T. U., as well as the campaign of fraternal assistance to the British miners developed by the Soviet C. G. T. U."

The congress noted that the British General Council leaders were attempting to disrupt the Anglo-Russian Committee, by limiting its functions and showing hostility by refusal to send delegates

to the Russian congress, demonstrating their dislike of the Russian workers because the latter had rendered such active assistance to the British miners.

Expressing its conviction that neither the vacillations, errors or pure treachery of individual leaders can dissolve the fraternal tie between the workers of Britain and the Soviet Union," assuring the British workers of their support in every way, the Congress instructed the C. G. T. U. to realize and develop the program of the Anglo-Russian Committee: The struggle against new imperialist wars; the struggle against the attacks of capital on labor; the struggle for unity of the international trade union movement in one effective class international.

The Congress declared: "Attempts are being made by Amsterdam leaders to turn the matter of real unity of the world trade union movement into a question of the entrance into the Amsterdam International of the Russian unions, although the Amsterdam leaders know perfectly well that the Soviet Trade Unions had and have no intention of leaving the Red International of Labor Unions for Amsterdam. This perversion of the question testifies not only to the reluctance of Amsterdam to respond to unity proposals of the Russians, but shows its sabotage of the establishment of unity of the world trade union movement."

TERRIBLE BETRAYAL THE Socialist leaders of the Confederation of Labor, who aided fascism exterminate the militant left wing of the Italian unions, and after doing this dirty work had seen the Confederation ordered dissolved by Mussolini for their reward, have now gone over completely to fascism and made the most inexcusable betrayal of the trade unions to the black shirts.

At a meeting in Milan, several Socialist and Confederation leaders, such as Ludovico D'Aragnona and Rinaldo Rigola signed a document announcing their abandonment of the socialist principle of class struggle and their conversion to the fascist principle of class collaboration between labor and capital. They end by placing their services at the disposal of the Fascisti. The news has created a profound sensation not only in Italy but throughout the world labor movement. Other nations' labor movements can see in Italy where the policy of "cooperation" between classes leads them.

Covering their betrayal with cowardice, the seven leaders of the Confederation say that the only other course would have led to a struggle for the overthrow of the fascist capitalistic government. "Any other conception necessarily leads to the abandonment of class prejudices."

The statement proceeds hypocritically—"This does not deny socialism, but merely interprets it more realistically."

"A certain solidarity exists between the different factors (capital and labor—Editor) of production. This solidarity is socially useful. It follows logically that there must be a limit for the workers, in which they must not exceed in the defense of class interests."

The document goes on to praise the fascist labor laws, under which the workday has recently been ordered lengthened from eight to nine hours, in spite of the fact that there are large numbers of unemployed in Milan and other industrial centers. The traitorous statement winds up with a note of patriotism, the sign of it "placing their energies at the disposal of the national community."

AMSTERDAM THE I. F. T. U. AGAINST

executive meeting in January defeated a resolution brought in by the British, which pointed out the necessity of calling a conference between Amsterdam and the Russian unions. The resolution was supported by Purcell, Hicks and Brown of England, Fimmen of Holland, Duerr of Switzerland, Tayerle of Czech-Slovakia. The majority who voted down any unity negotiations were led by the Germans, who have joined the anti-Soviet bloc and are just as anxious for war against the Soviet Union as are the British imperialists. German workers, however, are protesting this attitude.

On a motion of Hicks, the Amsterdam executive expressed its sympathy with Mexico and Mexican resistance to United States imperialism. The Mexican Federation (C. R. D. M.) will send a delegate to Amsterdam this year to discuss relations between the two. Amsterdam failed to express even sympathy for Chinese independence, however.

FRANCE THE convention of the Unitarian Gas and Electrical Workers was held on December 18. The union is the only one of those affiliated to the C. G. T. U. still offered by anarcho-syndicalists. Conflict arose over the principle of centralism versus federalism. Because of the method of electing delegates, the executive's policy of federalism won by a vote of 30 to 22 votes, the 30 representing 3,000 members from provincial organizations, and the 22 representing 10,000 members of the Paris district. A fight is being made to change the method of representation to permit of majority rule. The convention unanimously voted to increase dues. The union grew 10 per cent in a year.

The Unitarian Transport Workers' union and the Unitarian Dockers' union both held a convention at Paris in December. From 1924, the Transport Workers have grown from 12,000 to 30,000 members. This union is strongly in favor of amalgamating all transport, railwaymen and dockers into one industrial union, and is proceeding to amalgamate with one railway union on the private lines. The Unitarian Dockers' union, however, while agreeing in principle with amalgamation, is yet too strongly imbued with federalist tendencies really to amalgamate.

The wholly independent Federation of Officials (government employees) held its convention Dec. 21. It had previously remained independent to work for re-unification of the conservative C. G. T. and the radical C. G. T. U. The conservatives proposed to re-affiliate to the C. G. T., hoping that the C. G. T. U. supporters would split. They didn't split, however. Re-affiliation with the C. G. T. was carried after a stormy session, by a vote of 432 to 226, 111 votes not being recorded. Under accusation by the opposition, Laurent, the conservative secretary,

admitted using confidential reports of the French secret service against the opposition leader. Piquemal. The expulsion policy of the C. G. T. may yet force a split.

GERMANY THE decision of an arbitration court continuing the 12-hour shift for bituminous coal miners in central Germany has been rejected by the miners. The operators demanded the decision be made binding. The Minister of Labor carried out their wishes. The miners are angry and struck one or two pits. The union, offered by conservatives, called upon the miners to obey the decision, so the strike faded. Another arbitration court has given the Siegerland miners of the Rhineland small wage increases with longer hours attached by allowing overtime.

The total army of registered unemployed in Germany grew from 1,467,000 on December 15, to 1,745,000 on January 1. Unemployed women make up 275,000 of the latter figure. The *Rote Fahne* estimates that there are 750,000 unemployed not registered, or approximately 2,495,000 jobless workers in Germany. Meanwhile government statistics show a rise in the cost of living from an index figure of 143.6 to 144.3 from November to December.

The German Federation of Labor and the religious unions sent a delegation to the Labor Minister on January 12, asking for a new law to limit the hours of labor. They were turned down cold.

The left wing has won overwhelming victories in the Woodworkers' union of Hamburg, the Factory Workers' union of Geestacht, the Building Workers' union in Zerbst, the General Workers' union in Strassfurt, and won two seats in the Printers' District Committee at Halle.

BELGIUM THE lockout of 15,000 Antwerp diamond cutters ended in a surrender by the conservative leaders who agreed to the bosses' demand that a workers' co-operative cutting plant be liquidated. The lockout lasted longer than need be, because the bosses broke off negotiations on Saturday night, fearing to offend Jehovah by arguing into the Sabbath.

Reactionaries in the Belgian union are expelling not only those members who stood as candidates of the Communist Party in municipal elections, but even those who signed their voting forms. In the Stone Workers' Union branch of 3,400 members the worker Labour was expelled, but by only 125 votes, all other members withholding their votes. An interesting angle of this expulsion policy is that it is carried out in the dark, as the "People" official organ of the Socialists who are engineering the expulsions, does not report a word about them.

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Science and Invention

BY RÜGER COMPTON

IN our last article we stated a few of the facts concerning the uses of cellulose, the fibre of trees and other plants, in making products better, cheaper or more rapidly and conveniently by chemical combinations than by waiting for nature to do it. Some nitrates combined with cellulose make explosives to wound you, while others make "new skin" or collodion, to heal your wounds.

The chemists then squeezed some of the lower nitrate groups, combined with cellulose into a liquid, through fine nozzles into a thread. This was treated and woven into cloth, which, when colored blue or pink, could be used for some of the things your girl wears.

Goodbye, Cotton Fields!

However, this "rayon" or artificial silk, is too much affected by moisture to be satisfactory, even in dry America. But the solution of the problem of making it stronger and moisture resisting is now in sight. The time is not far off when the forests of South America and Africa will replace the 40,000,000 acres of cotton fields of the South. Let your mind chew on that for a while, and upon what it will mean.

In the form of grass and hay, cellulose is fed to cows, that manufacture from these feeds the milk which we use with our cereal breakfast foods, and from which we make ice cream and casein plastics. In spite of the fact that the "cow process" is almost automatic, it has all the disadvantages of small scale industry.

Cow Process Out of Date

Why not make our cellulose directly into ice cream and other products right in our factories? This proposal was made at a recent Chemical Society meeting, where a report was made of the methods by which this could be done. At present, these methods are expensive, but in time, with the advance of industry, cheaper ways will be found.

When this is done, we can convert the sawdust piles in our lumber yards into delectable dishes. It may be mentioned that ice cream has already been made from petroleum. (We are sure that we have tasted some of this ourselves.)

We may go one step further in this process, however. It has been found that it is possible to make glucose artificially by action of ultra violet light on water and carbon dioxide (soda water).

Playing Tricks on Nature.

Glucose is commonly known as grape sugar, as it is usually found in fruits. It forms half the content of honey and is the principal constituent of corn syrup.

Now, cellulose can be changed to glucose, so if we can only reverse the process, we should be able to turn out cellulose in large quantities in a much purer form than we get it from nature. It will be expensive for a long time to come, but some of us may yet get our food and clothing from a factory whose principal raw materials are water and air.

MUCH as we wish to be a 100 per cent American, we often have misgivings as to its intrinsic value. It now appears that our Deportation Department run by Secretary Davis, wants to deport an American Indian, named Diabo, the second time. He was born in Canada and was deported from the U. S. last March, but the Six Nations, the confederation of the big Indian tribes of all North America, induced him to come back and try to be a 100 per center if he can.

CAN YOU NOT HEAR?

By Henry George Weiss

*They think because the mass in seeming quiet
Passes each morn and eve with laggard feet,
Because there is no red rebellious riot
To tumult all the street;
That there is peace between their class and ours,
That with a life of toil we are content,
That, beaten and divided, slavery cowers,
Blinded, enchained, bespent.*

*But listen, sirs—can you not hear the rumble
As of volcanic forces underground,
Where in the hides of work the seeming humble
Go daily round and round?
Can you not hear the groaning and complaining
Arising from the factories and mills?
Can you not feel the social structure straining
Under the pace that kills?*

SEX IN LITERATURE

By V. F. Calverton. Published by Bont and Liveright, New York, 336 pages, \$2.50.

There are, it is to be hoped, not a great many historians today who would agree with Carlyle that great men make history, that, had Cleopatra's nose been a whit shorter, the whole course of history would have been altered.

We have fortunately passed that stage in the interpretation of history. Economic, political and social phenomena are given; if not adequate, at least considerable weight, and history is seen to be not a chronicle of inspired deeds of great statesmen, but a resultant of many forces through the inter-play of which men are moved to act.

In the domain of literary criticism, however, the "great man" theory is by no means extinct. The pinnacle of rational interpretation is supposedly attained when the character of the literature of an epoch is related to the general tone, then both left pending, as when we are told that the gay, vivacious Elizabethan drama reflected the love of life and buoyant spirits of the age of Elizabeth.

Then we inquire: Why the buoyancy and gayety, why the frank discussion of the erotic, why the disdain for the common man? Why did Dryden in the Seventeenth Century postulate that "Tragedy ought to consist of great persons," while in Comedy "the persons (are) of inferior rank," while Whitman in the Nineteenth Century exclaimed:

"Oh, workmen and workmen forever for me!"

"Oh, farmers and sailors! Oh, drivers of horses forever for me!"

"Oh, equality! Oh, organic compacts! I am come to be your born poet!"

All these questions and many more V. F. Calverton aims to answer in this book "Sex Expression in Literature," for while it is so called (and the reviewer wishes it weren't), its scope is much wider. "Our approach," says the author in his preface, "is social. Our task is to relate sex expression in literature to its social origins. Instead of studying the individual, we have stressed the compulsions of a class." A most commendable aim!

Upon this basis, the author proceeds to an analysis of sex expression in literature from the time of Elizabeth to the present day. He avers that all literature is a product and reflection of the age in which it thrives or of a definite class of that epoch.

The Elizabethan writers reflected

"*Fare Rise Is Urged For Transatlantic*"—headlines the N. Y. Times, probably figuring that many will walk to save the difference.

the "psychology of the feudal nobility," hence the aristocratic conception, the contempt for the lower classes, the mockery of the bourgeoisie "made up principally of Puritans," the free discussion of the erotic. Reading not yet being general, there was no fear of corrupting the "lower orders," and the aristocrats could permit their carefree, dissolute existence to be frankly portrayed in prose and poetry.

The accession to power of the bourgeoisie, however, marks an economic revolution, and consequently a social and aesthetic one. The art and literature of the bourgeoisie manifests a "studied, rigid avoidance of sex description," an aversion to the theatre, which was the citadel of the aristocracy, and glorification in place of ridicule of the merchant class. Why? In the words of the author, the moral outlook of the bourgeoisie "is but an outgrowth of the social economy of its existence."

After the interlude and reversion of the Restoration, the bourgeoisie again attained to power, and to a relatively lasting imposition of its ideology upon all literature and art; unconsciously through environmental permeation, consciously when a body of literature threatens its supremacy.

The book's last chapter, though by no means the best, is of utmost importance, as it treats of the aesthetic and ethical clashes of our own time. What is the character of sex expression in literature of today? In the main, frankness prevails. "The family as a whole has changed. The attitudes of children toward their parents have gone through a score of searing mutations. Modern fiction reflects this revolt." "A new force has come on the stage to be reckoned with—the working class. 'The Nineteenth century, as we have seen, with the rise and struggle of the proletariat, had brought with it the proletarian sentimentalists and a proletarian trend in literature.'"

"Sex Expression in Literature" is not exhaustive. The significance of the book lies in the soundness of its fundamental position, in its pioneer spirit, in its pointing the way to a rational literary criticism. The novel presentation and attractive style make it very interesting reading, both as sociological criticism and as introduction to literature.

—GERTRUDE BROWN.

DON'T FORGET

When you read this paper, don't forget that a dollar sent in with the subscription blank printed on page 7, will bring you LABOR UNITY for a whole year.

Sport Sidelights

BY ABE HARRIS

NOW that Tex Rickard has cornered the boxing market, he is preparing to cope with the problem of crowds. He is figuring on building an arena in Jersey City worth a million and a half, and one in Philadelphia.

He has the money, and the backing, and for fighters he bids high. Why, in bidding for Tunney he made all the other promoters including Fughray, his closest rival, look silly by his high offers.

As a business man Tex is no piker, he has taught many American financiers lessons.

BAN JOHNSON and The "Mountain" Landis are having it out. They are feeding the fans soup about the merits or demerits of the expelled players, but it is made sure that they don't get the real dope. I wonder who is in on the graft this time?

Which reminds me that when the "sloughers" were exonerated, their discharge sounded fishy "Gully and not gully," said the "Mountain." What dirty linen is to be washed in the near future?

Sounds like nervous Nellie Kellogg's excuses for Nicaragua intervention. Meanwhile the vote on the cleanliness of baseball, taken in N. Y. is 6 to 1 negative.

THE Red ball is up, learn how to skate, it's one of the best exercises to strengthen the back and to make the heart strong. Being out in the open is a good habit anyway, a little practice for the picket line.

I still marvel at the slide hockey came into popularity with. It's a dandy game, the fastest that's played. So fast that a camera can't get them in action.

If you want a thrill, see a game. Again Tex Rickard figures, he brought the sport out.

SUZANNE LENGLEN after making her pile is leaving in the near future for France.

The public was not showing up, and those that did complained of her lack of temperament.

Making a business of her ability apparently did not pay the promoters.

She got laid off.

GOLF is a very good game, but not for the workers, only those that have leisure and time can enjoy it.

Figuring the expense of minimum, it runs as follows:

Three sticks (the cheap set) \$7.50

A bag 4.50

3 balls 3.00

Membership in a municipal club 25.00

A man who can spend that much on a game is a Boss.

I don't write about the game because this is a workers' paper.

OLD Sam Langford, a man who took many a beating from the best of them had a benefit made for him, where at last he got more money than the promoters.

This is the third benefit, the other two only paid the promoters. Sam was permitted to watch the bouts, and he is nearly blind at that.

Many readers will wonder why no mention has been made of Soccer. I am getting some special dope on the game.

THE industrial teams don't receive much advertising, but once in a while we hear of the Y. M. C. A. going around organizing teams in shops. If we recall the Detroit incident of the Y. during the A. F. of L. convention, we don't have to wonder why.